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THE CANADIAN RAILROADER



CASH, NOT BRAINS, KEY TO ADVANCED
EDUCATION IN MONTREAL

WHY LABOR UNIONS OBJECT
TO INCORPORATION

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

MONTREAL, JULY 10th, 1920

Vol. 2, No. 28

5 Cents a copy, \$2.00 a year

The Need Recognized—Now What about the Means?

(By GEORGE PIERCE).

At last the Government has spoken on the question of the fiscal policy. There is to be a thorough revision of the tariff—first, to assist in providing adequate revenue; second, to stabilize legitimate industries; third to encourage the increased establishment of industries essential to the economic development of the nation; fourth, to develop our natural resources to the fullest extent; fifth, to prevent the abuse of the tariff for the exploitation of the consumer; sixth, to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial development.

The press notice from Ottawa says that "tariff should have regard to the maintenance, stability and prosperity of Canadian enterprise in the development of all our natural resources in lands, forests, mines and fisheries, as well as in the manufacturing and agricultural industries."

Considerable stress is laid upon the importance of creating and maintaining conditions which will stabilize Canadian industries so that the industrial workers will have steady employment which in turn will enable them to raise the standard of living. It is intended that our natural resources should be so developed that Canadian workmen will find ample work at home and not be compelled to seek employment in foreign lands to which Canadian raw materials had been exported. We are further informed that the tariff should be so administered as to frustrate the formation of associations or trusts in restraint of free competitive trade.

These are precisely the regulations which are needed at the present time. In the United States, years ago, exactly the same tariff programme was proposed. It took years of experience before the American people learned that in order to put this programme into effect a permanent advisory Tariff Board had to be created, consisting of non-partisan economists entirely detached from politics. With scientific precision those trained minds consummated the ideals in the programme. As yet, we do not know what measures the Government will take, what machinery will be instituted to carry out the new fiscal policy. We earnestly hope that able, trained minds will be selected by the Government in the form of an advisory Tariff Board to carry this comprehensive programme into practical effect for the common good of our people.

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INTELLECTUAL LEVEL OF PARLIAMENT

From P. R. Pamphlet No. 7, Proportional Representation
Society of Canada.

Sweden adopted Proportional Representation in 1909. Herr Talberg, deputy speaker of the Swedish Riksdag, has publicly declared that it "has distinctly raised the intellectual level of the representatives returned."

Under the present system members of the highest distinction and capacity, especially if these qualities are associated with a spirit of independence, find it increasingly difficult to enter political life. Victory at the polls depends not so much upon the services which a statesman, however eminent, may have rendered to his country, as upon the ability of his party to maintain its majority in the particular constituency for which he stands. Indeed, in this respect, a leader of an opinion is at a disadvantage as compared with the ordinary, the colorless and more compliant members of his party. Under the present system many of the world's finest statesmen have been compelled to spend more than half their political lives outside of parliament altogether. When Mr. John Morley (now Lord Morley) during the election of 1906 received a deputation of Socialists, he, with characteristic courage, explained very

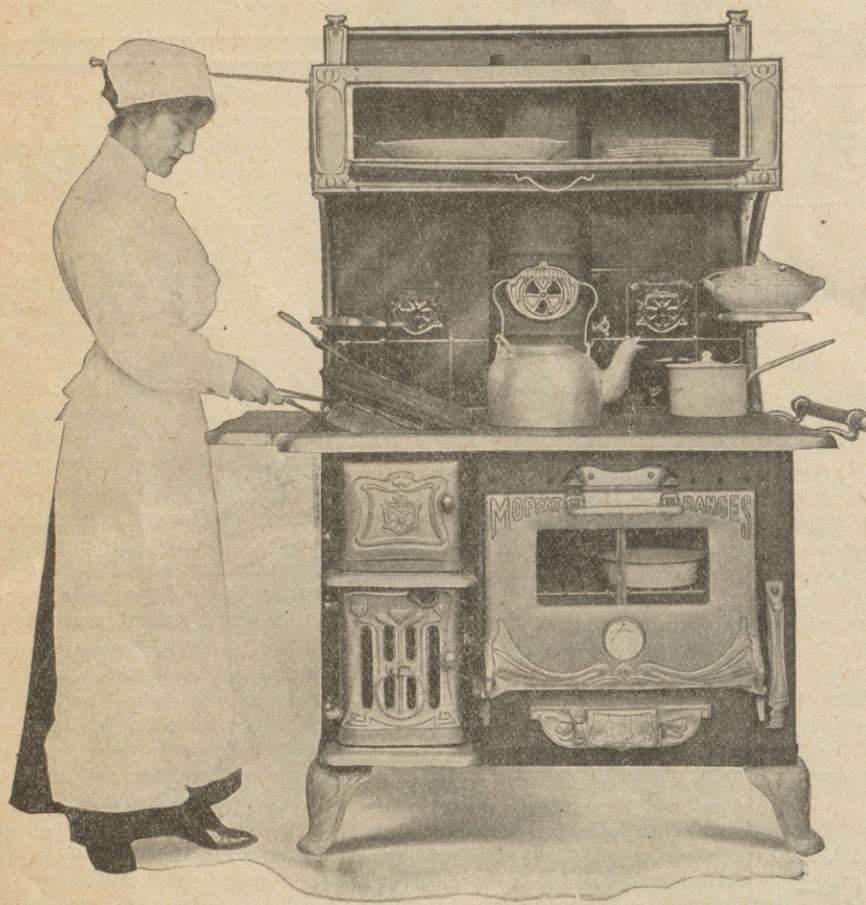
frankly the ground on which he could not support their principles. They withdrew their support, he lost his seat, and the British Parliament was deprived for many years of one of the finest intellects of the time. Can we wonder that there arise complaints that our statesmen are deficient in courage and in ideas? In the multi-member constituency the thousands who wanted Mr. Morley as their representative could have elected him, and the Socialists could have concentrated on a candidate of their own nomination.

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Our London Letter

(From our Own Correspondent)

Labor's Special Congress on Irish Railway Situation.

London, July 18th.

British Labor has decided to hold the special congress on Ireland at which I have already hinted. The decision arose out of the refusal of railwaymen in the south of Ireland to handle munitions or carry troops in that country and there are differences in the National Union of Railwaymen accordingly. J. H. Thomas, the General Secretary, who, by the way, is "Dr." Thomas now that Cambridge has this week conferred upon him an honorary degree, has a difficult task on hand, he having declared that while he is opposed to militarism in Ireland, he is just as much against the shooting of policemen and soldiers. This is

the main reason for the special trade union Congress, which will be held some time next month.

We have a strike of wireless operators on just now which bids fair to affect all parts of the world, for not only have the men on ships in British ports left their posts, but those on ships at sea are under instructions to do so as soon as they reach home.

The men's demands are for a weekly minimum of \$14 for qualified men and a maximum of \$38.50, for men in their tenth year, in all cases with bonuses merged into these amounts. This is a very modest demand when it is realized that the operators work 12 hours a day and seven days a week.

The report of the Marconi's Wire-

less Telegraph Company, Ltd, shows credit balance of profit and loss account for the year to December 31st 1919 of \$6,103,695. The directors recommend further dividends of 15 per cent on ordinary shares (making 25 per cent for the year) and 15 per cent on preference shares (making 22 per cent for the year), and a bonus of \$1.25 per share, without tax deduction on the old ordinary shares and the preference shares, carrying forward \$4,776,010.

Strikes among agricultural laborers in several English counties are foreshadowed.

A national delegate conference of the Workers' Union held in London yesterday, passed a resolution refusing to accept less than a minimum of \$12.50 per week, and requesting the executive committee to give permission to any county to take drastic action.

It was stated that notices to cease work will probably be given in Essex this week-end. Other counties where feeling is very strong are: Cheshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Herefordshire. Ten thousand workers would be affected by a strike decision in Essex. The agricultural membership of the Workers' Union is about 150,000.

It was also decided to send a deputation to the Labor Party to discuss with them the amendments to be moved to the Agricultural Bill now before the Parliament. Strong efforts are to be made to get the tied cottage system abolished.

London is threatened with cold stoves and dark nights. Gas cooking and electric lighting will be impossible within the next few weeks unless there is a settlement in the twin light strikes. For weeks the Joint Industrial Council for the gas industry has been trying to settle a dispute that affects 70,000 men, who demand a \$2.50 a week advance in wages.

The threatened strike concerns all the gas workers in England, Scotland and Wales, and so far attempts to avert a strike have failed. The notices expire on June 26th.

The electrical crisis concerns a radius of 25 miles from the City of London, and this area may be without light and power after July 1st. Unlike the gas dispute, the electric-

al trouble has nothing to do with wages or hours of labor. The threatened strike is one of protest against the employment of non-unionist labor.

Newspaper workers are endeavoring to raise their wage rates and a strike of printers in the provincial areas is not unlikely.

Negotiations have been going on for some time between the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation and the Employers' organizations for an increase of wages to all general printers and to newspaper workers in the English and Welsh provinces.

A provisional agreement was reached whereby increases of \$2.50 per week for men and 85 cents for women would have come into force last week if generally accepted.

The Executive Council of the Typographical Association which comprises compositors and machine minders outside London, declined to accept this or to take further part in the conferences, and recommended its members to reject the offer.

The result has been that a fortnight's notice has been handed in by the Typographical Association to the employers of every newspaper and printing office in the English provinces and Wales. Not only has the Typographical Association given notice to every member of the Employers' Federation, but also to those outside it.

The Newspaper Society — the organization of provincial newspaper proprietors — is adopting a militant attitude. At a representative meeting in London it confirmed the action of its representatives in agreeing to a further conference with the Typographical Association on the condition that notices are suspended and the overtime restrictions removed, but at the same time gave instructions that "in no case shall the offer of \$2.50 be increased."

It is against the offer of \$2.50 that the members of the T.A. propose to strike, their notices having been tendered to expire on June 26th.

The meeting of the Newspaper Society resolved that, if a strike takes place, newspapers shall continue publication wherever possible, and that, where it is not possible for papers

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in any area to publish separately, the proprietors shall produce a joint sheet with a special title.

The Bill introduced by the Labor Party for the extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as to men is dead. During the Committee's consideration of the Bill there has been obstruction at every conceivable point on the part of some of the members who are hostile to its provisions. With a view to expediting the passage of the Bill as a one-clause Bill, Mr Gundy, at the instance of the Chairman of the Committee, moved that the Bill should be reported forthwith as amended, but priority was given to another motion that the Committee should not proceed further with the Bill as there was no prospect of getting it through its remaining stages. This resolution was carried, and the Bill remains a forlorn effort. The Labor members on the Committee have had to labor under the disadvantage of the loss of the valuable assistance of Arthur Henderson, who was in charge of it for the Labor Party, and William Adamson, who are both absent from Parliament owing to a breakdown in health. It is expected that the Labor Party will now make an effort to have their Bill for the Education, Employment and Maintenance of the Blind, considered by this Standing Committee. This latter Bill has been held up by the prolonged discussions of the Franchise Bill.

Ethelbert Pogson.
—o—

IN PASSING.

As we meet and pass each day,
The many travellers on the way,
Let every such brief contact be
A glorious, helpful ministry;
The contact of the soil and seed,
Each giving to the other's need,
Each helping on each other's best,
And blessing each as each is blessed.

Samuel Coleridge.—



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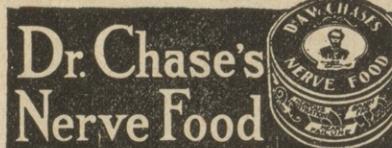
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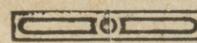
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GUELPH, Ont.

Summary of Resolutions Adopted by the American Federation of Labor

At the Montreal Convention June 7-19, 1920.

Compulsory Military Training

The convention took a stand against compulsory training and it instructed its officers to oppose all other legislation of this character. Military training in the schools was condemned.

The Minimum Wage

The Nolan minimum wage bill providing a minimum wage of \$3 a day for government employees was approved.

Soldiers' Relief

Adequate relief for veterans of the World War was urged upon Congress.

Newspaper Mailing Privileges

The Executive Council was instructed to oppose the zone system of second class mailing rates.

The Boston Police

The convention pledged "its moral support" to the Boston policemen's union and instructed its officers to assist in the establishment of adequate methods of representation for policemen. The re-instatement of the discharged members of the Boston policemen's union was urged.

Political Prisoners

The convention urged the President, the attorney-general and the secretary of war to make all efforts possible to secure the granting of amnesty to all prisoners whose political belief formed the basis of their prosecution, fines and imprisonment. The repeal of the Espionage act was sought.

Oriental Immigration

Cancellation of the "gentlemen's agreement" under which Japanese laborers are excluded from the United States; the exclusion of "picture brides"; the absolute exclusion of all Asiatics as immigrants; the legalization of the principles that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship and the constitutional amendment providing that no child born in the United States of Asiatic parentage shall be ineligible to American citizenship unless both parents are ineligible, were adopted.

Panama Canal

The employment of alien labor on the Panama Canal was the object of protest, and the employment of American citizens only in the repairing and mechanical departments of the Commission, was urged.

Compensation for Longshoremen

The creation of a federal compensation insurance fund for maritime workers was urged as a necessity because of the recent decision of the United States' Supreme Court denying longshoremen the benefits of state workmen's compensation laws. The convention sought chang-

es in state laws and in the federal acts to give protection to longshoremen.

Railway Secessionists

The secession movement in the railway unions was condemned and attributed to "irresponsible agitators", encouraged by "unfriendly employers of labor."

Kansas Court of Industrial Relations

Four resolutions urging the repeal of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations were approved and referred to the Executive Council for action in bringing about the repeal law involved. The Executive Council made a lengthy report on the subject saying, "The Kansas law is unjust, tyrannical and un-American. It was enacted during a time of great hysteria, created through the propaganda of the governor of the state of Kansas. Bitter attacks were made on labor. The law gives absolute protection to the public utility owners. It is believed that they were instrumental in having it enacted in order to receive protection from the state for these utilities that are in financial difficulties. It is a most sweeping law and in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

Labor's Grievances and Demands

The statement of grievances and demands drafted at the conference of the American Federation of the railroad brotherhoods on December 13 last was approved.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign

The non-partisan political campaign inaugurated by the Executive Council last December was endorsed without explicit reference to the Labor party.

Constructive Demands

Industry, the convention affirmed, today requires these remedial measures: "Greater democracy; more intelligent management and acceptance of the principle that production is for use and not for profit alone; and audacious reconstruction in the conduct of basic industries. We urge the setting up of conference boards of organized workers and employers thoroughly voluntary in character and in thorough accord with our trade union organizations as means of promoting the democracy of industry through the development of cooperative effort. We cannot be driven as slaves but we can give high service in a common effort for all human kind."

Labor Legislation.

Opposition to proposed sedition bills and to the Espionage act, the repeal of war-time legislation, the strengthening of the Department of Labor, opposition to increased immigration, advocacy of larger appropriations for education, demands

for laws against profiteering, support of the Women's Bureau and of a federal housing programme were included in the resolutions dealing with federal legislation.

High Cost of Living

"The last figures of a general nature issued by the United States Department of Labor showed that while since 1913 the average advance in the wages of the organized workers was 55 per cent., the average cost increase in the cost of living was 83 1-10 per cent.", said the Executive Council in prefacing a series of specific proposals for dealing with the situation. These included the government purchase of standard commodities to be sold at fixed prices; expropriation of excess war profits for the extinguishment of the floating debt of the government; the encouragement of co-operation; the development of co-operative credit and especially the establishment of permanent boards for the prompt investigation of profits and prices.

Health Insurance

The mooted question of health insurance was referred to a committee which was instructed to report to the 1921 convention.

Labor and Organized Farmers

Co-operation between the unions and organized farmers was advocated.

Irish Resolution

"The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled appeals to the workers of England, Scotland and Wales and asks that they exert their powerful influence to the end that their government officials at present in power by the votes of the people of England, Scotland and Wales, immediately withdraw the army of occupation from Ireland and permit the Irish people to peacefully pursue their lives under the form of government which they have established through laws made by themselves and executed by their duly elected officials."

Railroad Report

"The Executive Council is instructed to use every effort to have the transportation act of 1920 repealed and legislation enacted providing for government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad systems and necessary inland waterways."

United States Employment Service

Legislation was urged to establish the United States Employment Service as a permanent bureau of the Department of Labor with ample appropriations.

Free Speech

Support to the fullest extent possible of every effort to re-establish the rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly wherever denied was pledged.

Extremist Propaganda

"Bolshevism has been a lure for some of our people. Its doctrines have been propagated with great vigor. Its hideous doctrine has found converts among two classes of people generally—those intellec-

tuals, so-called, who have no occupation save that of following one fad after another, and those who have been so beaten in the game of life that they find no appeal in anything except the most desperate and illogical schemes. The rank and file of the organized labor movement, as was to have been expected, has given no countenance to the propaganda of bolshevism, but has, on the contrary, been its most effective opponent, in the United States."

Steel

The continued organization of the workers in the steel industry was ordered.

Lever Act

The repeal of the Lever Law used against the United Mine Workers in the recent coal strike was demanded.

The League of Nations

"The covenant of the League of Nations written into the peace treaty must meet with the unqualified approval and the support of America working people. It is not a perfect document and perfection is not claimed for it. It provides the best machinery yet devised for the prevention of war. It places human relations upon a new basis, and endeavors to enthroned right and justice instead of strength and might as the arbiter of international destinies."

Relief for Central Europe

Aid for the work of securing the relief of the people of Austria, Serbia, Armenia and, the neighboring countries was urged.

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ANTI-LOAFING LAW

AMONG resolutions adopted at the convention of Chiefs of Police of Canada held at Moncton, N. B., last week, was one which requested the executive to take up with the Department of Justice the desirability of putting into force the anti-loafing law which was in vogue during the war. The convention, according to the press reports, was unanimously in favor of continuing this law.

While there is much to be said in favor of a community requiring that all its citizens shall contribute by way of daily labor of some sort to the general wealth of the population, in the present state of society it is an extremely difficult requirement to enforce, and the dangers arising from any attempt to operate the anti-loafing law are so many that more harm than good might result to the nation. The first and most obvious objection to it being put into force again is that its operation rests entirely in the hands, not of the police chiefs who ask for it, all of whom are men who enjoy the esteem of the city in which they control the police, but of their subordinates, men of very average judgment and experience. Is it possible to imagine a constable accosting a well-dressed young man in Westmount Park or on Westmount boulevard, who might be taking a spin in an auto in the forenoon? Yet if the same constable saw a rather shabbily dressed young man apparently sauntering on St. Lawrence boulevard in the forenoon, under this anti-loafing law he would doubtless deem it his duty to challenge him, take him to the station and make him produce bail or go to Bordeaux jail for a week before he could prove that he had some method of earning a livelihood. The anti-loafing law inevitably discriminates between the poor and the rich idler. Further, in this age when industry proceeds night and day, there are hundreds of men who work at night and who have a fair part of the day to themselves. Among such are railway men, printers, and all engaged on morning newspapers. Why should these men be subject to the challenge

of a constable if he happens to see them sauntering about the parks in the forenoon or the afternoon when in his judgment they should be working? Moreover, many a mechanic gets a job that lasts for a few weeks or months; is then thrown out of work because the contract is finished, and he has a few weeks of enforced idleness. If he comes, say, from Toronto to Montreal, and happens to be challenged by the police as to what he is doing, it may be most difficult for him to call witnesses to prove that he is not a loafer.

Under a socialistic system the anti-loafing law could be applied, but under the individualistic system and with the present complexity of industrial conditions, where supply and demand are supposed to operate on the labor market, it is impossible to guarantee that there is a job for every man all the time. The proposal has a war touch and a German flavor about it. People are tired of the compulsory and the arbitrary edicts of war time. Freedom of personal movement must not be tampered with. British law requires generally that an offence must be positive and not negative; that is, if a man by not working, is starving his wife and children, he can be punished; or if through failure to earn, he is found begging, or, worse still, is living on the earnings of his wife's or children's labor, then also he is liable to be called to account. The one blot on English justice has always been its vagrancy laws, through which many honest but unfortunate men and women have been cast into jail.

From the lips of a leading clergyman in this city, the writer heard this illustration of the working of the vagrancy laws in Australia. A young man emigrated there from Scotland on the promise of a job, and spent practically all he had on the voyage and equipment. Arrived in Australia, he found that the labor unions would not allow him for some reason to take up the expected job; hence he found himself on the streets in a few weeks. When he came to this pass, he was arrested as a vagrant for having "no visible means of support" and was sent to jail for this offence. The clergyman in question, then in Australia, was so struck with the injustice of this case that he has ever since been a strong advocate of prison and penal reform.

Canada is a free country and does not want vagrancy and anti-loafing laws which are going to result in wrongful arrests, unjust convictions of young men and so forth, for it would be just those who were least able to present their case who would be the victims of this sort of injustice. It is quite sure that the idle son of a rich man would never be taken by the police. The anti-loafing law would be prejudicial to the thousands of men on whom the great railway and lumber camps depend — the man who works for several weeks very strenuously and under very hard conditions and then comes into the city to spend his money. The community has no right to penalize these men.

VALUE OF P. R.

SHOWN IN WINNIPEG

Ronald Hooper, of Ottawa, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Canada, who had charge of the counting of the proportional representation ballots in the election at Winnipeg, in a statement on the working of the new system, says:

"The Winnipeg proportional representation election just concluded, in which forty-one candidates contended for ten seats, has clearly shown that a ten-member constituency may be just as practical as a smaller one, provided that the staff engaged to sort the ballots is competent and well-trained. The personnel of the Winnipeg counting staff was all that could be desired in these respects, and it was this that made possible the announcement in less than four days of the results obtained from sorting and resorting nearly 48,000 ballots.

"The average number of all men engaged in the work was thirty-four, and the time during which they were actually employed amounted to forty-five hours.

"Seventy-five per cent of the electorate cast their votes, and the percentage of rejected ballots amounted to only 1.72. This was very low for so cosmopolitan a city.

"The Labor Party (which included the Socialist group) polled 42.5 per cent. of the first choice votes and elected four members: the Liberal party polled 30.4 per cent and elected four members; the Conservative party polled 13.7 per cent. and elected two members. The eleven Independent candidates together polled 13.4 per cent, but these candidates were each independent of the other, and therefore none succeeded in securing the quota of votes necessary for election.

"A further analysis of the result shows that all parties received their fair share of representation. A considerable portion of the 11,586 first choice votes for F. J. Dixon, a Labor candidate with a surplus of votes, were marked with the second prefer-



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That's the result of maintaining quality that has stood the test for years — ask your dealer.

ences for Liberal and Conservative candidates, as were also many of the eliminated Independent candidates' ballots. This accounts for the fact that the Labor party received slightly less and the Liberal and Conservative parties slightly more representation than their first choice votes would appear to entitle them to.

"It is one of the distinct advantages of the single transferable vote system of proportional representation that such subtle variation from strict party opinions can be registered and recorded. Such information cannot fail to influence the actions of those whose business it is to interpret and put into effect, so far as possible, the will of the electorate.

"The single transferable vote system of elections does more than merely secure the representation of parties in proportion to their numerical strength. It might be described as a barometer, which registers, as no other system can possibly do, the temperamental changes in the political thought of the country; and a study of the detailed result sheet of the Winnipeg elections would well repay a Legislature striving to bring together the conflicting elements within the city."

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Insist that the workshirt you buy bears the name JUMBO, JESS WILLARD or the famous Brand-mark IRON FRAME.

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WEEKLY

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Reduced Production

OME months ago politicians, financiers and others to whom we are supposed to look for light and leading were crying the need of increased production. Workers who had the temerity to strike for more wages to compass the soaring cost of living, were denounced as madmen and traitors to the public weal. They were assured that the only way out of their troubles was to work harder and longer and increase production.

Evidently the workers responded to the demand made upon them. Now we read of industries slowing down, of factories closing, because production has become greater than the demand. It does not appear that over-production is general; we may not be arriving at a real cycle of over-production, or be likely to swing suddenly into an era of business depression and widespread unemployment. But the symptoms are disturbing. The reports of Bradstreets and Dunns have become gloomy. Banks are curtailing loans; wholesalers in many lines are complaining that orders are falling off; retail merchants in the dry goods trades are reducing prices, and advertising extravagantly. But food prices and rents are still bold and firm.

If the banks turn down the speculator who uses credit to control supplies and force up prices, and the promoter of dubious enterprises, and are able to provide accommodation for legitimate business, the reaction now manifested may be temporary, and industry and business may go forward for a time, for much needs to be done to put our economic house in order and develop the great potential resources of the country. Nevertheless sooner or later we will reach the cycle of over-production, and fall forthwith into industrial depression and hard times — unless indeed the state, the employers' associations and the trade unions put their heads together and en-

deavor to regulate production so as to provide employment and a livelihood for all the people.

And such a programme is not receiving much attention. On the contrary the political powers — on this continent at any rate — have no vision of the possibility of using our gigantic productive forces to assure the comfort and well-being of the masses of the people. The Republican platform rightly aroused the ire of Mr. Gompers; the Democratic platform offers nothing of a fundamentally reconstructive character. And in the platform of our brand-new National Liberal and Conservative Party labor is hardly mentioned. The politicians merely offer labor what as a rule it has already. In that they are better than some employers' associations. We read of preparations being made by big corporations in the United States to deprive labor of concessions gained in the war — to reduce wages and increase the working hours. That such a mode threatens is shown by the fact that great trade unions are hastily organizing defence funds.

There are employers in the United States who advocate a deliberate effort to provoke a decisive struggle; they believe that the power of the trade unions can be broken and labor forced into a condition of helpless docility for years. The British employers are not so foolish. They recognize that an attempt to crush trade unionism would probably provoke revolution, and sanguinary conflict. Many British employers are consciously working to effect a new orientation of industrial relations, to build a new social order in which the aspirations of labor will have scope for fulfillment. Will British or American policy prevail in Canada?

Colin McKay.

Using the Wrong Ear

THOSE astute gentlemen of the old political schools who claim that they have an ear to the ground to catch even the most distant tremors arising from expression of the people's will are apparently using the ear which is hard of hearing. At least, that is the conclusion to be drawn from the serious miscalculations made since the close of the war, particularly in regard to Farmer and Labor will. They are pretty much like the stupid old English squire in whose family it was a tradition and a foregone conclusion that it would always have a son in Parliament, and who, when he stood at election time, said, "Labor be blowed!", whereupon the Labor Party blew him up, much to his amazement and no doubt much to his disgust.

The Labor vote in the Manitoba elections was discounted before it was polled. Labor might, said the astute persons, get a couple of seats; Labor be blowed, anyway. Now Labor will probably be the Opposition in the Manitoba Parliament, ranking even ahead of the Farmers. As estimators and translators of the people's will, the old-line politicians (and the newspapers they run or which run them) are a joke, a fizzle, a pitiful presentation of punctured pride.

They are busy making excuses, of course, and whatever comfort they can get from that will not be denied the poor things, though the excuses are as thin and blundering as the rest of their sayings and doings. They know so little about Labor even yet that they wail because some of the men elected in Manitoba do not carry union cards and were aided in victory by non-union voters. Since when did a union card become a necessity for a Labor candidate or become the stamp of a Labor voter?

The astute gentlemen of the old political schools who still talk learnedly of Labor and the Farmer, and advise both at great length and in a patronizing or chiding way, are themselves in sad need of knowledge and counsel, though they would probably think the notion preposterous—the idea!

K. C.

Show Your Cash

The Wish To Have High School Education And The Fitness To Absorb It And Make Use Of It Are Not Good Reasons Why Any Child Should Get It.

By KENNEDY CRONE.

AS I understand things, and as I am sure most plain persons understand them (as a dreadfully plain person I am trying to give the viewpoint of plain persons) any blockhead can go into the Montreal High School if his or her parents can pay the fees and other expenses.

At least some notable blockheads come out of it, because I have met some of them looking for jobs. They have told me that the subjunctive mood was in the Himalayas, that semicolons were no longer used in select company, that concrete was quarried in the State of New England, and that a cubic centimetre was a French cannon used in the Red River Expedition for the purpose of storming the Bastille, a great fortress on the River Metz or Mitts or something. Coming to civic matters, they have told me that the city was governed by the School Board, that the Lachine Canal began at Fort William, that the Chief of Police owned the street cars, and that only sailing vessels and bateaux could some as far up the river as Montreal.

If a blockhead can walk into the High School with dollars and cents, surely a bright boy or girl can walk in with brains? Not at all. The coin is the key. Many of the brightest children in the Protestant schools of the city, lacking the fee and nothing else, lack the key.

Ordinary hand and brain workers and their wives struggling to make ends meet and rarely bringing them within speaking distance of one another because they have to be the saviours of their country and raise a family, a process which keeps ends running away from one country, which is the usual reward of any such saviours of their country at any time, and which happens to have a few extra H. C. of L. medals on it at present; who sit with their children at nights to help with the lessons as well as their own limited education will allow; proud of their offsprings' alert heads and fine records at free elementary school (despite the offspring having to mind other offspring, run errands and wash dishes, too, as part of the day's work); anxious to give to these offspring the education they are fitted to take; pinching, scrimping, going without, to give them a chance—what chance, after all, have their children to get to High School?

The desire to advance the children beyond elementary school is tugged at by the pressing needs of the moment. It has been a long, hard struggle to rear them, quite thankless so far as this country is concerned unless when the children are a little older and there happens to be a war on. You know that stuff about the perils of the declining birthrate, the national calamity of a heavy infantile death rate, the heroes and heroines who raise families, the wondrous duties parents are doing to mankind, the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, and so on. It is just stuff, for stuffing; the country goes on biffing the fathers and mothers under the chin just the same. If their children go to work at 14 their pay will relieve the biffing a little, although the parents know that it is not best for the children or the country in the end. On the other hand, High School for four years means an additional drain of approximately \$200 per year per child in fees, books and other expenses, apart from food and clothes. Usually it can't be done, and so the army of cash girls and parcel boys is recruited by girls and boys who had it in them to rise and were penalized on the threshold of the world.

These are parents who await impatiently, and in most sel-

fish spirit, the day when they can send their children to work; if they could send them at ten years of age they would do so; but they are in a small minority. A good chunk of the real root of the child labor problem is in the lack of opportunity for parents to continue the education of their children beyond elementary school; if the High School were free, or the entrance qualification a qualification of brains instead of money, many more children would get advanced education and be removed from the child labor field. Our neighbors in the city of Westmount, where the need is even less urgent than in Montreal, a much greater majority of the residents being of the class who can afford to pay for advanced education, decided to make their High School free a year ago, and a great deal of credit is due them for the enlightened and progressive spirit which prompted the action.

The only chance that many struggling hand or brain workers have of sending their children to High School is to have the youngsters win the free scholarships offered by the Board. The competitor must have a good record for seven years and then lick all the other smart scholars sifted down at the seventh year. Most of the scholars competing at the last for the scholarship are clever children, yet a child one mark out of seven hundred behind the winner loses the High School opportunity.

I know a specific case rather well, of a girl fourteen years of age, second in the race for the scholarship in her school, nineteen marks behind the winner, with a total record of 83.1 per cent. as against the 87 per cent. of the winner. She never lost a conduct mark in seven years, for five years led her class and for two others was well forward. She is the eldest of seven children, and was the housekeeper when the last baby came because her parents could not afford to pay for other help. She fought hard for the scholarship, as she was keen on getting to High School, and lost it practically by a fluke. The principal of the school and the rector of her church took a personal interest and recommended her for one of the few alternative scholarships gifted by the Provincial Government, but later found that these were only for boys.

Her parents want her to go to High School and right on through the University, too; they look for no return to themselves, but are willing to do everything they possibly can for her. As the girl was deeply disappointed, they have promised to send her to High School in the Fall, though they don't yet see how it is to be done. Why should the parents be penalized and the girl be penalized because the parents are raising a large family and because the girl is one of a large family? That is what it boils down to under our present system. The parents do not want any parading or philanthropy; they would be intensely humiliated by either; they feel that they have qualified and the girl has qualified for a common right, and that that right has been denied.

The taxes of all the people (indirectly but none the less truly) support the High School; why should the people with bright children and a scarcity of cash support a school for dull children with lots of cash, while their own children cannot go to the school? Not desire, not brains, not ideals, not struggle, not sacrifice, open the way to the High School; cash does.

The specific case mentioned is only one of dozens, perhaps hundreds for aught I know. Isn't it pitiful to think of bright children fit for advanced schooling, fit to be and do things for the honor and progress of their country — shot into dead-end occupations, with all their dangers and drawbacks, at the age of fourteen? Then think of the ninecompoops and the numskulls from sheltered homes who go through High School and McGill University, aided, protected, given scope for development, placed in avenues of opportunity — to what purpose? — merely because the parents or others who sent them there had money to spare.

It is with sinking heart that later swells to make a smash of things in righteous anger that fathers and mothers lead the children of their hopes and dreams to the higher seats of learning, to find blazoned on the portals thereof, in fact if not in phrase:—

“YE WHO HAVE CASH AND BRAINS, OR CASH AND NO BRAINS, ENTER; YE WHO HAVE BRAINS AND NO CASH, BEGONE!”

Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Who will be Premier? The House As A "Golgotha of Greed"

Parliament prorogued on July 1st wisdom in the management of our closing days pale into insignificance beside the definite announcement of Sir Robert Borden's resignation of the Premiership and the momentous possibilities which his disappearance from the stage foreshadows. He merely confirms a decision which he arrived at last December on the strong advice of physicians, but suspended at the urgent entreaty of his followers who could not agree upon a successor. He took a long holiday and hopes were cherished when he returned to Ottawa that he would be able permanently to resume the duties of office. But the restoration of his health was more apparent than real and the statement concerning which he made to the caucus on July 1st precluded effectually any attempt to urge him to stay.

Though it is generally admitted and he himself must know that in the fullness of time the electorate would have relieved him of the responsibilities of office, he lays down the reins of power with the good will of men of all parties and amid general expressions of regret.

His career has already been appraised in the Railroader and there is no need to examine it now at length. While his domestic statesmanship was often very feeble and was marked by no great measures of constructive reform, he gave Canada cautious and capable leadership through some very difficult years and, looking back upon the circumstances of the period, it may be the verdict of history that his particular qualities were peculiarly suited to the needs of the country for the moment. He displayed unexpected

political status and international prestige of Canada. The Imperialism of his opposition days he completely abandoned and he was able to do more to check the design of unwise apostles of centralization than Laurier could ever have accomplished.

His farewell address to the party which has been published strikes a good note of statesmanship but is unduly flavored with optimism as to the party's future. In his final interview with the members of the press gallery he showed real emotion, and evidently feels keenly the necessity of leaving the stage which he has so long adorned. But John Morley once wrote with truth that no one does anything consciously for the last time without regret.

But of even greater interest now is the question of his successor. The caucus could come to no immediate agreement and a somewhat strange plan he devised to carry out the selection. All the Coalition members of the House of Commons and Senate are to write confidential letters to Sir Robert stating their views upon the leadership and he will be guided in his recommendation to the Governor-Général by the contents of these epistles, though not necessarily by the majority opinion expressed in them.

In the ultimate the decision will be with Sir Robert, but it is merely a skilful method of evading responsibility. Influences beyond the confines of Parliament will exercise their say in the selection, and doubtless Sir Robert will be inundated with proffers of sage counsel from

potentates, who are, or think they ought to be, the real rulers of the country.

Mr. Meighen's friends claim that this method of election is liable to cripple his chances. It is not improbable that he will have the support of 80 per cent of the members of the Commons and a fair contingent from the Senate. But he will be opposed by most of the Cabinet, especially Mr. Calder and his friends, by the more reactionary element in the Senate, and by the powerful financial interests of Montreal and Toronto. There is no doubt that some of Mr. Meighen's enemies are to his credit but the prominent financier whom the Ottawa Journal avers described him as a "dangerous Socialist" was somewhat wide of the mark.

The Premier and his advisers have inevitably to give weight to other considerations than the support of the parliamentary members. The latter, with the prospect of \$4000 per annum, would follow even William Ivens of Winnipeg if he were made Premier. One important factor in the choice will be the possibility of making an inroad upon the Liberal stronghold of Quebec under a leader who is less unpopular in that province than Mr. Meighen. It is fully realized that no Conservative party can hope to make any permanent headway in Canada unless it can be assured of a considerable volume of support from what, after all, is a strong fortress of conservative ideas. Hopes are still held that Sir Lomer Gouin might be allured into an alliance but it could only be accomplished under the leadership of some other person than Mr. Meighen.

Sir Thomas White is said to be definitely out of the running and Sir George Foster would only be stopgap which most of the party regard as undesirable, being tired of policies of drift. So the rivals to Mr. Meighen narrow down to Sir Henry Drayton and Mr. Calder. It seems almost unthinkable that a person of Mr. Calder's political antecedents could be charged with the leadership of a party which must be overwhelmingly Tory in texture, but Mr. Calder is extremely adaptable and needs must when the devil drives. Still it would be an unparalleled misfortune for the country if he became Premier; he falls far short of the qualities of mind and character which the previous Premiers of Canada, with a few exceptions, have possessed.

From the point of view of the party's future a great mistake will be made if Mr. Meighen is not chosen. But then his election would probably mean an immediate election owing to the withdrawal of many Liberal-Unionists, and an election is just about the last thing which members want to have. They see \$8000 in sight during the next two years and would like to glue themselves with cobblers' wax to their seats at Ottawa. But speculation on the leadership must not be carried too far as the choice may be announced ere this in print.

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Out of the loins of the Coalition there has been born a new organization which will be designated the National-Liberal and Conservative party. The artful Mr. Calder is understood to have explained one of the chief advantages of his title to be that a candidate would be able to pose as a Conservative in a Tory riding and as a Liberal in a constituency of the opposite hue. National, some one added, might be useful to attract the followers of Mr. Bourassa.

The new name is absurdly clumsy and no one doubts but within a year supporters of the N. L. and C. party will be answering with pride to the good old name of Tory.

A lengthy platform has also been published to the world, marshalled under a series of heads. It is dis-

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treatingly vague and is as broadbottomed as the name. The tariff plank is simply a rehash of Sir H. Drayton's Budget pronouncement and the only really interesting feature is the statement that the policy of direct taxation will be continued. The caucus was a long-drawn-out affair and there were many speeches and not a few outpourings of soul. Mr. Rowell had decided to retire with Sir Robert but the deep tribute which the caucus paid him has induced him to suspend his decision. If a leader acceptable to him — Mr. Meighen would not be — is chosen he may condescend to remain but meantime he will take counsel with the Liberal Unionist supporters in Ontario and seek for one of those mandates which are now so fashionable.

It is exceedingly difficult to write with restraint or patience about the indemnity grab the consummation of which was foreshadowed last week and which was successfully brought to pass on Tuesday by a massed drive participated in by the majority of all parties. When one's mind goes back to the election contest of 1917 wherein members vied with one another in talking about the necessity for sacrifice by all classes of the community and their pride in being conscripted for their country's service, the more contemptible does the organised rapacity of Parliament seem.

Premier Borden on Tuesday introduced the bill providing for the indemnities and justified his course in a very labored speech. The protests raised by Mr. King and Mr. Crerar were exceedingly feeble, and it was plain that their opposition to the measure was more nominal than real. It was left to two French-Canadian back benchers, Mr. Roch Lanctot and Mr. Proulx, to lead what real fight was made and test the opinion of the House by an amendment postponing the increase till an election had been held. This amendment should have been moved by Mr. King and seconded by Mr. Crerar. Mr. Lanctot, who is a man of stubborn independence of character, spoke strongly against any immediate increase as did Mr. Proulx. Messrs. J. H. Sinclair and McMaster also took the same view.

From the Government benches came one solitary voice of protest, that of Col. H. J. Mackie of Renfrew, who told some blunt truths of his colleagues. He has rarely spoken in the House, but on this occasion he displayed a capacity for good phrasemaking and sarcasm as well as sound wisdom which enhanced his reputation. He was prepared to concede increases to members who lived in the West or East of Gaspé, but the rest he thought were well enough paid, and he contended that many of them went home with \$2000

in their pocket. He showed that 125 days has elapsed since the House met and only on 83 of these had it sat. Each member is entitled to be absent 15 days without any deduction from his indemnity so that he need only attend to his duties 68 days to draw pay at the rate of \$40 per day roughly. With subtle irony he commanded the "wise judgment" of the Premier is opposing the increase and warned his fellow members that they might find their constituents decidedly critical of their performance. When the amendment came to a vote it was lost by 107 to 11. The names of those who supported the delaying amendment are worth recording: Messrs King, Crerar, Fielding, McMaster, J. H. Sinclair, J. E. Sinclair, J. W. Kennedy, Lanctot, Proulx, Dechene and D'Anjou. The bill easily passed through its other stages and the jubilation of the successful raiders was almost touching to witness.

It is doubtful if any British Parliament has ever witnessed a less edifying spectacle than member after member standing up on Tuesday night and in strains which hardened street mendicants would almost be ashamed to speak, clamoring for increased salaries. The whole episode is exceedingly unedifying and the sooner it is buried in oblivion the better for our national self-respect but the electorate should remember it at election time.

The Toronto Telegram, which is normally a strong supporter of the Government, launches a fierce diatribe of which the subjoined passage is a sample:

"Ottawa, a Golgotha of greed, has requited the service of the civilians who put their salary—grabbing hands into the national treasury up to the armpits. Ottawa is the burial place, or rather, the bone yard, of bleaching decencies of national life and thought. The rush of the country's statesmen to the cashbox was like the stampede of shoats to a trough."

"A Golgotha of greed" is the best thing that has been said about Ottawa for many a long day.

One expected little else from the Coalitionists but the opposition by participating in the grab after voting at the beginning of the session that this parliament had ceased to be representative, have completely stultified themselves. Their conduct is the more exasperating because on more than one occasion lately they have shown themselves most inefficient defenders of the public interests.

Mr. King provided an example of pusillanimity on the issue of the Murdock charges which he brought up in the Commons on June 29th. He read out the charges in detail and dwelt upon their seriousness. Then he produced a resolution asking for a parliamentary inquiry but gave the naive explanation for not moving it that his friend Mr. Ballantyne had informed him that it was intended to prorogue the House

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the following day. Prorogation is a movable ceremony dependent on when the business of Parliament is completed.

If Mr. King was satisfied the Murdock charges were serious he ought to have kept the House in session to the end of July, if need be, and he could have done so as many estimates were still to be passed. Possibly he thought that the charges as they stood were excellent campaign material and did not want to give the Government a chance of refuting them. If this was his motive then he was playing politics in the worst way.

During the last few days of the House an enormous volume of business was rushed through and fair criticism and examination of estimates was impossible. The whole system of managing public business is absurd. The first half of the session is wasted and the closing days are hopelessly over-crowded. The Opposition protested against some of Mr. Rowell's estimates and Mr. Fielding tried in vain to pierce the veil about the Washington Ministry. But now that the \$4000 was secured, members had ceased to care about the business of the country and an ignominious and depressing session came to its end with a rush.

J. A. Stevenson.



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The Department of Municipal Affairs of The Province of Quebec

(Continued from last week)

The new law now requires that there be a vote in every case. Moreover, there must be a certain percentage of taxpayers who register their vote.

40—Article 5782 as enacted by section 10, George V, chapter 60, is new law.

It is stipulated that every by-law ordering a loan must mention, in detail, the existing debts of the municipality.

The object of this enactment is to permit the electors to know the exact financial position of the municipality when they vote upon a proposed loan.

50—All municipal bonds must now bear a certificate of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and every such bond, duly certified, is valid and its validity cannot be contested "for any cause whatever."

This innovation in the law is much appreciated by the public.

The experience of the past two years shows that the public now looks for this certificate which assures the validity of the bond.

Before the law was enacted every bond issue was subject to be attacked by some legal technicality, and purchasers were obliged to depend upon legal advice which had no binding authority before the Courts.

60—The Act 9 George V, chapter 59, contains further important legislation.

(a)—It is now absolutely forbidden to give aid, in any shape or form to industries, with the sole exception that the cities and towns and villages may exempt industries from taxation for a limited period of years.

This prohibition was enacted at the request of the municipalities themselves.

(b) Unless otherwise permitted by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, all municipal corporations must now call for tenders through the Quebec Official Gazette for the sale of their bonds.

This is an important new departure. Municipal bonds were frequently sold at a sacrifice by administrators who did not realize the real value of their bonds or who were not familiar with the market prices.

We have good examples of the excellence of this legislation in the recent sales of municipal bonds which have attained as high as 105 for municipalities.

(c) Municipalities must now provide for the payment of improvement works before they can give out a contract for same.

In the past, it had become the custom for certain municipalities to have public works done before any provision was made for the payment of same.

They would thus pass a by-law to provide for a loan to pay for the work, and the electors and the lieutenant governor in Council were to face with the anomaly of having to approve or disapprove of a loan after the money was expended whether they approved of the urgency or the opportuneness of the disbursement.

These are the important features of the law relating to the Municipal Department.

As might be expected in a law of this nature, many questions were raised as to the scope and workings of the Statute, but as its provisions are better understood, its value and purpose are being more and more recognized as time passes.

A law of such wide scope, involving so many distinctive and important features, could hardly be perfect in operating detail in its first draft, and, indeed, not until experience with its operations has developed its practical needs could the best procedure be provided. Some few amendments to facilitate the operations of the law are enacted at each session. It is a source of satisfaction, however, that none of the fundamental principles of financing incorporated in this Act have been attacked in any way.

This law has awakened great interest and its provisions are being studied in connection with proposed legislation on this subject. While its principal features are not in advance of the best thought, there are but few provinces in which the bond laws incorporate so many of the accepted principles of financing and the Legislature which passed the law contributed much to the credit of our municipalities and to the welfare of our citizens.

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Policemen Periodically Segregate Pest-hole Near Montreal

Star Report Exposes Dreadful Conditions Under Which Human Beings Exist.

AT certain seasons of the year policemen are placed at both ends of the street to prevent the dwellers in the fever-stricken houses from mingling with the nearby town-folk. The homes, though no very great distance apart, have no sanitary conveniences of any description."

This indictment of society would seem terrible enough if it were made with reference to Sierra Leone, Armenia, Mongolia, or Port Said. It is made with reference to a suburb of Montreal in a news story published in the Montreal Daily Star on July 6th.

Kipling with his "Lady of the Snows" did not insult us half as much as we have insulted civilization by permitting such a state of affairs to exist. The Gazette does not even refer to it; it is too busy throwing bricks at Labor. The Empire Press Conference, that luxurious joy-ride beginning this month around the glories of Canada, for which the taxpayers are paying about \$65,000 in direct grants and goodness knows how much in indirect subsidy, so that Canada may be properly boomed, will be carefully piloted away from this glory of poor and stricken people. If Dickens were here to see and write, it can be imagined that when he read the story in the Star he would be off hot-foot to the scene of the tale and write something about it that would scorch and sizzle for a century.

Such details as are given in the Star story (which is very incomplete from a survey standpoint) are sickening. An immediate investigation should be demanded by right-thinking citizens. The Town of St. Lambert adjoining this equivalent of a leper colony should, in its own interest, study the matter to see what can be done towards getting at the causes and having them removed, instead of posting a couple of policemen as sentries over them. If an investigation is not started quickly by one authority or another, the Railroader is prepared to conduct its own investigation and get results, though smug and self-complacent persons may not like the process. The situation as described in the Star must not be tolerated; it shall not be tolerated. It is too serious a reflection on the whole Canadian people and on the good name of the country.

Kennedy Crone.

THE STAR'S STORY.

The following is the complete story from the Star of July 6th:—

The Travelling Health Clinic of the Baby Health Centre, with its staff of one doctor and three nurses, yesterday afternoon paid a visit to St. Lambert and the surrounding district, making a house to house visit as the result of the mothers and children, who were to have been conducted to the clinic by members of the ladies' committee, failing to make an appearance.

The first stop was made at St. Louis street, in a district which is outside the jurisdiction of the St. Lambert Town Council. Here, at certain seasons of the year, policemen are placed at both ends of the street to prevent the dwellers in the fever-stricken houses from mingling with the nearby town-folk. The homes, though not very great distances apart, have no sanitary conveniences of any description.

the increasing fight of the nurses to do away with the germ-laden "baby pacifiers" seemed to have no effect.

Meanwhile the news had spread that the clinic had come, and on Front street the doctor and nurses were kept busy examining, weighing and measuring. One nurse was occupied in taking notes, for a careful record of each case is kept and its progress noted in subsequent visits. Mothers were given careful instructions as to diet and the treatment of complaints now prevalent, and to keep the advice in mind a generous supply of French and English literature on the subject was distributed.

BABY WEIGHED 4 LBS. 12 OZ.

A pitiful case was that of a pair of twins five months old. One baby weighed 5 lbs. 1 oz.; the other 4 lbs. 12 oz., instead of the 16 lb. standard for their age. Both babies had been sick four days, and only on the fourth day were the services of a doctor obtainable. One of these had four major defects, and the mo-

ther was most anxious that a local station be established. Another woman was feeding her tiny infant on a diet of cornstarch pudding, and it took much persuasion on the doctor's part to convince her that it was not the proper food for a sick child. Puny emaciated mites most of the babies were, some almost ten pounds underweight, and yet in the majority of cases no physician had been consulted.

The staff assured the Star that the afternoon had seen little accomplished, but to inexperienced eyes the amount of work done seemed great. Certainly it was sufficient to show the need for a permanent station, not only to save the babies visited and their families, but also to render safe the homes of the more fortunate which are ever in danger so long as their poorer neighbors are the victims of fever and disease.

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Labor Provides For Motherhood

Scientific Provisions to Banish
Perils of Childbearing.

In allotting the portfolios of the Labor government of New South Wales, provision was made for a Ministry of Motherhood. The main duty of this new ministry is to arrange special scientific instruction to girls of suitable age, preparing them for responsibilities of motherhood. Science has demonstrated that more than half the trials of child-bearing may be avoided by the application of scientific knowledge.

The Labor government also proposes to establish maternity hospitals throughout New South Wales, attached to which shall be an outdoor department in every district to render aid prior to and during accouchement and convalescence. The pre-natal and after care of mothers will be especially provided for. The best aids that science and care can bring to mothers will be provided free. Adequate support and protection will be provided for unmarried mothers prior to and during accouchement, thus mitigating much avoidable human suffering.

Ample funds are to be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Motherhood to test the success of this most important branch of administration by the natural increase in population, infantile mortality and the welfare of the mother.

Adequate living allowances for widows and deserted wives left with the care of young children is to be provided, while the old age and invalid pensions already paid are to be supplemented in order to meet the increased cost of living.

In the matter of public health the state government of New South Wales proposes to nationalize health activities and to arrange that the state by equitable taxation shall provide maintenance of public hospitals. Hospitals are to be decentralized and increased in number until there is ample accommodation for all. All restrictions and obstacles upon medical practitioners who desire to practice their profession in the public hospitals are to be removed. The Labor government also proposes to institute dental hospitals for the care of the people's teeth.

Medical examination, to be followed by free treatment, is to be provided for school children. Encouragement in the practice of medicine will be given by provision and extension of bureaus, while doctors and undertakers will not be allowed to make exorbitant charges in general practice. The Labor Government also proposes to undertake the scientific treatment for the combating of venereal diseases.

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Office Workers To Be Organized By A.F. of L.

Campaigns to unionize 2,000,000 stenographers and office workers will begin soon in all big cities of the United States and Canada, under authority of the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which recently met in Montreal.

The executive council of the Federation will be in charge of the drive, which represents an effort to bring into the ranks of organized labor the "white collar element".

The most experienced organizers of the Labor movement will be enlisted in the drive, which is intended to enroll both male and female office workers.

An international union with complete autonomy in the Labor movement will be chartered as soon as the total membership of the local unions reaches ten thousand, the convention ordered. Until this total is reached the new body will be under the control of the A. F. of L. like all new unions.

Rapping the I. O. D. E.

("The Farmers' Sun", Toronto.)

How considerate of these loyal defenders of the Empire! It does not seem enough that we have just come through a five years' war, in which over fifty thousand of our bravest and best were killed and tens of thousands of other young have come back broken in body and shattered mentally, because of the hell they have been through. It means nothing to these women that the country is bowed down with a huge debt and that the readjustment process will take many decades before our land is brought back to its pre-war condition.

We admit that these Daughters of the Empire are real classy ladies, whose husbands for the most part were our war profiteers. A grateful Government has allowed them to retain their huge ill-gotten gains, but we would like to assure the ladies that the next time there is a war, the first thing that will be conscripted is the wealth of our millionaires. In the struggle that has just ended, we conscripted the poor man who had nothing to give but his life, but we did not lay a grasping or unholly hand upon the wealth of the millionaire. The millionaire's money was sacred to our Government. If we should ever face another war, conditions will be reversed, and we take this opportunity of advising the Daughters of the Empire to think twice before they go any further in their advocacy of compulsory military training. Before that comes, conscription of wealth will have taken place.

Why Labor Unions Object to Incorporation

(Wm. H. Holly in *Life and Labor*.)

An employer who conducts a strictly union shop, complying with all of the rules as to wages and working conditions, has written *Life and Labor*, stating that the unions have not always kept their contracts with him, that he has suffered damage from injury to his plant by members of the union, and asking why unions do not, or should not, incorporate and become responsible for violation of contracts or damage done by their members.

Business Corporations Escape Liability for Acts of Their Individual Members.

Others have on different occasions asked a like question. That the unions should incorporate, and that the funds of the corporation should be available to compensate employers who had suffered from acts of misconduct committed by members of the union or their failure to live to the terms of the contracts made with the union, appears, upon its face, to be a fair proposition. A little consideration, however, will, we believe, demonstrate quite clearly that the organization should not be held responsible for the acts of the individuals composing it, and that no benefit or advantage would accrue to the employer from the incorporation of the unions.

Business corporations are organized not for the purpose of assuming but to escape liability for the acts of the individual members. No corporation is, or could afford to be, responsible for the acts of its members, except in so far as the member had been authorized to and acted as its agent. Should a stockholder of the United States Steel Corporation become incensed at some action of organized labor and assault members of the union, or injure their property, damages could not be maintained against an incorporated labor union for misconduct of its members, unless it could be proven that the union as an organization

had authorized such misconduct. No recognized labor union has ever, we believe, countenanced such acts, and if one did it would be quite careful to have no funds which could be reached. Moneys used for strike benefits and other like purposes would be collected and handled by some other organization.

The Union Is The Agent Of The Individual Employees.

Now, as to the responsibility of the union for the violation of contracts made with employers. In entering into such agreement the union does not contract for itself. It acts simply as the representative of the individual employees. It is their agent. It bargains not for itself, but for them. It stands in much the same position as does a firm of brokers which negotiates contracts for its clients. Such a firm never assumes responsibility for the performance of contracts which it negotiates.

The employers understand in making wage agreements that the union is not binding itself. It does not agree to furnish a certain number of men to the employer, at an agreed wage. Neither does the employer agree to hire any number of men, or any men at all. He contracts only that in so far as he needs men he will employ union men at the wage agreed upon. But he may close his plant the next day, if he chooses, without being guilty of a breach of his contracts, and not employ a single man. Similarly, the members of the union may refuse to work for him.

Employers Who Break Their Contracts With Labor Always Escape Responsibility.

It may be urged, however, that if the employer continues his business he is bound under his contract, to employ only union men and pay them the stipulated wages; that if he does not, he has broken his contract and may be sued and damages recovered against him; therefore, the union should be made to respond in

damages to him if its members refuse to enter or remain in his employ.

But it is not true that if the employer breaks his contract he can be held responsible. He is as free as are the men to refuse to comply with the terms of the agreement. Should he refuse to live up to the terms of the agreement, the individual workmen may not sue, because he did not contract with them. And the union could not maintain an action, because, in the eyes of the law, it has suffered no damages. If, therefore, the union or its members could be held responsible to the employer for a breach of the agreement the contract would be exceedingly one-sided—binding the union but not the employer.

Incorporation of Labor Unions Would not Benefit the Employer.

The incorporation of labor organizations would not, therefore, be of any value to the employer. He would be in no better position, so far as the collection of damages for misconduct is concerned, or the enforcement of contract, than he is now.

And his position would be worse with respect to securing voluntary compliance with the terms of the agreements made by the unions. Many labor leaders oppose the incorporation of their organizations, because they fear that in such event the members will not feel the moral obligation to live up to the union contracts that they now feel. It is a matter of common knowledge that men and women of the strictest integrity in their private dealings unquestioningly receive dividends from corporations whose business trans-

actions are corrupt to an extreme degree. The corporation being a separate entity, the individual stockholders seem to feel no responsibility for its acts. And the labor leaders fear that, with the unions incorporated, their members will come to consider that they are in no wise responsible for the acts of the organization.

The Way That Labor Does Things Compares Favorably With the Way Employers Do Things

As it is now, each member of the organization considers the act of the union his act. The contract made by it is his contract. The responsibility is upon him to fulfill the provisions of the agreement. And in a very large proportion of the cases he lives up faithfully to the terms of the contract.

For the unions are not contract breakers. It is true that occasionally a strike is called in violation of a contract, but such instances are rare. And do not business men break contracts?

Let anyone go through a few volumes of the reports of the courts, noting the number of cases brought to recover damages because of the breach of their contracts by business men, and then make investigation to ascertain the number of cases wherein labor unions have violated their agreements. Whoever does so will be forced to the conclusion that labor organizations have a high sense of their duty to keep their engagements, and that their conduct in regard compares most favorably with that of the business men of the country.



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